

## Message Text

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16/50

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 NIC-01 IO-10 AID-05 EB-07 IGA-01 ARA-06

/088 W

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P R 041622Z FEB 75 ZEL

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5167

INFO AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY LISBON

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 0574

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA NUMBER FIVE INSERTED)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO, NL

SUBJECT: CONSULTATION ON PORTUGAL

REF: A. STATE 022603

B. STATE 023905

1. DCM SAW FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR RUTTEN ON FEB 3  
TO EXPRESS SERIOUS CONCERN OF US OVER DETERIORATING  
SITUATION IN PORTUGAL, PARTICULARLY THREAT TO MODERATE  
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FORCES, AND TO SOLICIT DUTCH THINKING ON REMEDIAL

ACTION. RUTTEN INDICATED THAT GON WAS ON SAME WAVE-LENGTH WITH US ON THIS PROBLEM BUT HAD NO CLEAR VIEW ON HOW BEST TO REVERSE OR MODIFY CURRENT TRENDS.

2. SPECIFICALLY RUTTEN SAID DUTCH SHARED OUR CONCERN OVER POSSIBILITY THAT LEFTISTS, IN AND OUT OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (AFM), MIGHT TRY TO STRENGTHEN THEIR GRIP ON THE SITUATION BY POSTPONING THE CONSTITUENT ELECTIONS. RUTTEN MENTIONED A NEW PUBLIC OPINION POLL SHOWING THAT THE COMMUNISTS WOULD GET ONLY 7 PERCENT OF THE VOTES. SINCE THIS WAS CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN EARLIER POLLS HAD INDICATED, RUTTEN REASONED THAT THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS IN THE AFM MIGHT DECIDE ON AN AUTHORITARIAN COURSE OF ACTION RATHER THAN RISK DEFEAT IN A DEMOCRATIC ELECTION.

3. RUTTEN SAID THE GON WAS ALSO COMPLETELY WITH US ON THE NEED TO SUPPORT MODERATE FORCES IN PORTUGAL. THE QUESTION WAS, HOW? RUTTEN'S PERSONAL VIEW WAS THAT A LIMITED AMOUNT OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE GOP AT THIS TIME COULD HELP TO STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF THE MODERATE FORCES, EVEN THOUGH SUCH ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS A GESTURE OF APPROVAL OF THE PRESENT REGIME. DESPITE THIS DRAWBACK RUTTEN BELIEVED THAT A LIMITED AMOUNT OF AID NOW WOULD BE A BETTER TECHNIQUE THAN TO HOLD OUT AID AS BAIT TO THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE, TO INFLUENCE THEIR VOTES IN AN ELECTION WHICH MIGHT BE POSTPONED INDEFINITELY.

4. IN THIS CONNECTION RUTTEN SAID STATE SECRETARY BRINKHORST HAD HEARD FROM UK MINISTER JUDITH HART IN BRUSSELS THAT BRITISH WILL GIVE PORTUGAL SOME DEVELOPMENT AID, NO FIGURE MENTIONED. DUTCH UNDERSTAND THAT NORWAY IS PLANNING SOME TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. GON ITSELF REMAINS INTERESTED IN LENDING A HAND BUT HAS NOT YET OVERCOME THE PROCEDURAL BLOCK MENTIONED IN PARA 2, THE HAGUE 6137 (NOTAL). AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO DIRECT DUTCH ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL, RUTTEN SAID DEVELOPMENT AID MINISTER PRONK HAD DISCUSSED WITH FONMIN SOARES POSSIBILITY OF "UNTYING" DUTCH DEVELOPMENT AID TO FORMER PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES IN AFRICA. UNDER THIS SCHEME, CONFIDENTIAL

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TO WHICH SOARES REPORTEDLY REACTED FAVORABLY, MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA AND GUINEA BISSAU WOULD AGREE TO SPEND PART OF DUTCH DEVELOPMENT AID ON NEEDED GOODS AND SERVICES IN PORTUGAL RATHER THAN IN THE NETHERLANDS. RUTTEN CAUTIONED THAT THIS INFORMATION SHOULD BE TIGHTLY HELD SINCE DUTCH HAD NOT YET DISCUSSED THIS POSSIBILITY WITH ANY OF THE INTENDED RECIPIENT COUNTRIES.

5. RUTTEN CONCLUDED CONVERSATION IN A PHILOSOPHIC VEIN, SPECULATING ON THE UNLIKELIHOOD THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD ATTEMPT TO FOLD PORTUGAL INTO THE COMMUNIST BLOC BECAUSE OF PORTUGAL'S REMOTENESS FROM EASTERN EUROPE AND ITS TRADITIONALLY CLOSE TIES WITH WESTERN EUROPE. DCM REPLIED THAT CUBAN EXAMPLE SHOULD SERVE TO TEMPER WESTERN OPTIMISM ON THIS SCORE. RUTTEN CONCEDED THIS POINT AND ADDED THAT FROM SOVIET POINT OF VIEW IT MIGHT PROVE IRRESISTIBLY TEMPTING TO ACCELERATE THE TREND TO THE LEFT IN PORTUGAL FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN SPAIN AND ULTIMATELY ITALY -- IN SHORT, THE DOMINO EFFECT OPERATING ACROSS NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK.

6. COMMENT: EMBASSY APPRECIATES EXCELLENT TALKING POINTS PROVIDED REFTELS, WHICH AS INDICATED ABOVE WE WERE ABLE TO USE STIMULATIVELY AND PERSUASIVELY WITH RUTTEN. FURTHER INPUTS FROM THE DEPARTMENT CAN LIKEWISE BE USED TO GOOD ADVANTAGE HERE IN CHANNELING DUTCH THINKING AND MATERIAL RESOURCES IN SUPPORT OF MODERATE FORCES IN PORTUGAL.  
GOULD

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
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